/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

● [223] Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the [177] sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used ●[223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant [223] bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41. The arrowheads of the Auin are generally 411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always 411 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded 304 as hunting trophies.

521 The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on 578 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.

[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

757 The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing purposes. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con- [184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory 224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con- [857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily [411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have [223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl [262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in [136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made [223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

≠AOIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

114

MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

[p. 49]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them, but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monotonous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison. Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures de-

your if.

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262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224
[251] the flesh.

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 Birds - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
• 223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned guinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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825 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 [231] The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

[223] The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2] 223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so 224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riet fontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.